

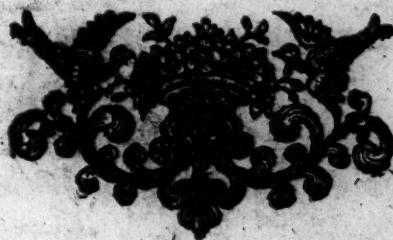
A

LETTER  
TO THE  
PERSON  
Last MENTIONED in the  
CRAFTSMAN  
Of the 22d of May.

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— *Patriae quis Exul  
Se quoque fugit?* — Horat.

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L O N D O N .

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# ІАМРГНАЯ

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ІАМРГНАЯ  
один зі зборів М. І.

ІАМРГНАЯ

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A  
 LETTER  
 TO THE  
 PERSON, &c.

SIR,

I am very ready to congratulate you most heartily, upon the Intimations you have given the Publick, that you begin to be in Love with a quiet Life, and are determined to retire. You seem at last to have hit upon the surest Method, to be as happy as a Man in your Condition can be. After all the Storms you have suffered,

fered, and the Shipwreck you have so narrowly escaped, what can be more desirable, than to enjoy a perfect Calm for the future ?

If you proceed in this Resolution, you will merit the Applause of wise Men, and gain a Station far above the Reach of those who might have an Inclination to disturb you : In this good Temper, you will not be offended with one, who is desirous to suggest a few Thoughts that seem not at all contrary or foreign to your Purpose, tho' it may be unnecessary to one of so great Quickness and Compass of Thought.

The first thing that occurs to my Mind, is, what would naturally lead you to this Resolution : Which is to consider, what immense Satisfaction you will be continually reaping, from reflecting on the many great and good things, in which you have had so particular a Share. In the next Place, where-ever you fix your Retreat, you may consider yourself not only allied to this, or any other Nation ; but in some sort, to all Mankind. Benevolence, and hearty Desire of their Welfare, will interest you in all Transactions, and give you a Pleasure to hear of the Good done by others, almost

almost equal to the doing it yourself. The whole World may be considered as such a Man's Country, and the Honours of this or any other Nation, Trifles and Circumstances infinitely outweighed by the Applause of his own Mind.

It will, you know, be necessary, in order to secure this sublime Happiness, to have all your past Actions laid before you in a fair and just Light ; that what has been amiss, may be cancell'd with Tears of bitter Remorse, and stare you in the Face no more ; and then all your virtuous Deeds you may review with Pleasure, as often and as long as you please.

It will be equally necessary, that all turbulent Passions, and such are all Kinds of Malevolence, be utterly extinguish'd. Your Ambition, it seems, has been long since dead, Root and Branch, it should be ; for if it ever revives, the whole Scheme you seem to have laid with so much Art, will be utterly spoiled : Resentment of the many Injuries and Prosecutions you have suffered, will be but a dogged Companion, therefore you had best part with it ; and Envy will be worse than an Executioner at your Right Hand :

Hand : But that I suppose you are a perfect Stranger to.

Your Mind being so happily disposed, it only remains to take an impartial and satisfactory Review of your past Conduct; and here it may be worth your while to stop a little, and to consider once more, whether that heavy Charge which has been laid to your Account, is just or groundless ; for if you can't justify yourself to the Publick, you may be put upon terrible Shifts to acquit yourself in your beloved Solitude.

Was I to declare my Opinion, I must confess it has but a bad Aspect to tell the World, That *you can never admit your Flight was a Proof of your Guilt*, unless you had fully and effectually explain'd it ; instead of that, you make use of such manifest Evasions, as will confirm the World in their Notion, that it was a Proof : If your Flight was only of itself a strong Presumption, which is the least you can make of it ; yet when you have tried your utmost, and can't remove this Presumption, I fear the World will take it for strong Proof.

It was undoubtedly incumbent upon you to give some plain Reasons, or some other sufficient Cause, and to make it appear,

appear, that this was really the Cause, and not amuse the World with Possibilities, or else they will and must conclude, it could be owing to nothing but Guilt. You fled, tho' you knew the merciful and gracious Disposition of the King on the Throne ; tho' you knew your Flight must necessarily bring on an Attainder ; and consequently, that you must suffer the Shame and Loss of a condemned Traitor, Things generally as grievous to innocent Minds as Death itself ; and, tho' you had no Reason to fear an arbitrary Tribunal, or any harsh or unjust Proceedings. Did ever any Man quit his Country with so much Loss and Ignominy, knowing his own Innocence ? If you had any Examples at Hand, you should have produced them, for those you have brought are nothing to the Purpose.

*Metellus* would have been a most excellent one, if you could but have drawn the Parallel ; a Man of the greatest Dignity of Mind, hardly exceeded by any Roman. He did the greatest Services to his Country, both in the Senate, and in the Field. He was so far from flying upon account of Guilt, that nothing was ever laid to his Charge ; but he chose to quit

quit his Country, rather than fall in with the Measures of those that design'd nothing but Mischief. *Qu. Metelli praeclarum Imperium in re militari fuit, egregia Censura, omnis vita plena gravitatis : tamen hujus viri laudem ad sempiternam memoriam temporis calamitas propagavit.* Cic.

It was a very remarkable Case, and how it fits your's, every one will be able to judge as soon as it is related. The Story, which you should not have concealed since you mention'd him, was this: *Metellus*, for his great Merit, had been chosen Censor, in which high Office he expell'd *Apuleius* the Senate for embezzling the publick Money ; the Sum, as near as I can guess, might be about 20,000*l.* This Man, who thought that Government not worth serving which would not admit of such Jobs, was as restles as you have been for some Time past, till he got into Power again, The Censor's Note was for a Time as effectual a Bar against his Re-admission into the Senate, as the Incapacity you lie under at present ; he had therefore nothing left but to apply himself to the People, who were always ready to hearken to any Proposals for their private Advantage:

tage ; He filled their Ears with Accusations of Men in Power, which they were forward enough to receive, tho' to the Injury of the best Men in the State ; and promis'd them an Agrarian Law, if they would but chuse him their Tribune.

Having by these Methods got into one of the chief Posts of Power, he was as good as his Word, and brought in an Agrarian Law ; the Import of which Law was, to divide the publick Lands among Private Persons ; and at the same time, to be revenged on *Metellus*, he added a Clause, that whoever refused to take his Oath in Confirmation of this Law, should be banished. *Metellus* scorning to approve of such base Proceedings, which he saw plainly enough were level'd against himself, and yet loth to embroil his Country by opposing, chose to retire.

I appeal to all Mankind, whose Character and Conduct has most Resemblance of your's, that of *Apuleius* or *Metellus*. There was a great Similitude in the Character of this great Man and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s ; and, if I mistake not, your Behaviour towards him whilst you

was in Power, was not altogether unlike his Adversary's.

Wherein is there the least Resemblance between his Flight and your's ? His was no Proof of Guilt ; how should it, when no body accused him ? He was driven out by Violence and the Iniquity of the Times ; he got immortal Honour by it, as you may see by the Passage just now quoted from *Cicero*. What then has all this to do with your Flight ? You knew a heavy Charge was preparing against you ; the Law, you knew, was just, and the Judicators too, and yet you fled ; What can the World conclude, but that you know you could not stand a fair Trial ?

The Case of *Rutilius* is as different too from your's as the foregoing ; and really, Sir, such Instances, if I were to advise you, were better let alone. If they were made use of as they ought to be, to inculcate Modesty, Humility, and with a Sense of your Unfitness ever to be trusted again, a correspondent Desire never to be employed ; it would have this Effect at least, to make Part of your Declarations appear more credible than they do at present : But when they are brought for your Defence, they only

ly confirm the World in their Sentiments of you, that you are still the same Man ; as greedy of Power as ever, and as ready to abuse it.

*Rutilius*, to tell you plainly, (for such Instances provoke me to this Freedom) as much excelled you, as 'tis possible to conceive one Man can another. He was a *Roman* of the first Rank for Virtue and true Greatness of Mind. Being President of the Province of *Asia*, he took a great deal of Pains to defend the People of the Country from the ravening Jaws of the Publicans; who were a sort of Caterpillars dispersed over the *Roman Empire*, and often pillaged the poor Natives most unmercifully.

: Such a base Set of Men could not fail of being greatly exasperated, and entering into any Methods to be revenged: It happened very favourably for their wicked Purpose, that a Law had lately passed at *Rome*, which appointed the *Equites*, or Knights, a Share in the Judicial Power. The Publicans therefore not questioning Success, suborned some villainous Fellows in several Cities of the Province to accuse *Rutilius* of Bribery. Who, conscious of his Integrity, was far from declining a Trial; so came

to *Rome*, and appeared before the Knights his Judges; who having Interest enough in the Court, and Affection enough to their Brethren the Publicans, condemned him into Banishment. Accordingly he went; but when the People of *Nia* saw the Event, and being sensible by what Frauds their late Governor and Benefactor suffered this Injury, the principal Cities immediately sent Deputies to *Rutilius* to invite him among them, each striving to have their City honoured with the Retreat of one who had so well deserved from them. Upon which the Perfidy and Lyes of the Publicans and their Tools were fully discovered, the Innocence of *Rutilius* shone with fresh Lustre, and the Judicial Power lately conferred upon the Knights became more odious at *Rome* than before.

How now could you, knowing this to be the Case, quote such a Man's Name in any Part of your Defence? How could you hope for any Favour or Protection from a *Roman* of such eminent Virtue? The World will rather think, that such an Instance should awe and terrify you, and strike you dumb; and will, after this, be apt to conclude

conclude, that all your Pretensions to Modesty and Humility are some of the grossest Sorts of Imposition that ever were put upon the Publick. If it should prove the least Disadvantage to you to produce this Man's Character, you must thank yourself for it, since it is but fair, and what the Reader may justly expect. I shall take it from *Vell. Paternulus*;

*Quisque eam patefactam nati equites,  
Gracchanis Legibus, cum in multis cla-  
rissimos atque innocentissimos viros fa-  
vissent, tam P. Rutilium virum non se-  
culi sui sed omnis avi optimum, inter-  
rogatum lege repetundarum, manimo cum  
gemitu civitatis damnaverant.*

How aptly his Flight or Banishment is produced to excuse yours, every one must immediately discern. You know before what Tribunal you was to be arraigned, and could not fear interested or profligate Judges; nay, two of the most material Evidences in your Cause were grown of late as reserved and sullen as you could have wished, not only their Papers, but their Memories were in a manner utterly defaced.

*Rutilus*, on the contrary, tho' he knew his Judges were corrupt, interested, and exasperated against him; tho' he

he might undoubtedly have got sufficient Testimonies from his Province to counterwork the Designs and Subornation of his Enemies, and to excuse his coming to *Rome*, yet declined no Trial: He seem'd willing to stand the Shock, with a View to render the Innovation at Home more odious, and to excite his Countrymen to throw it off.

Your Manner of introducing these Parallels is a plain Specimen of your great Modesty, " If the Proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline in certain Circumstances, a Trial; if to go into voluntary Exile, either before a Trial, or even after Condemnation, were absolute Proofs of Guilt; the Conduct of many greater and better Men, than the Person now accused, would deserve our Censure; and that of Calumniators, as vile as these Libellers, would merit our Approbation; Metellus and Rutilius must be condemned, Apuleius and Apicius must be justified.

This Paragraph consists of as many notorious and wilful Evasions as can be contained in so few Words; for in the first Place, there is not the least Resemblance

femblance between the Conduct of those Great Men from whose Names you seek Shelter, and your own ; they were neither of them guilty, nor gave the least Proof or Suspicion of Guilt, either by flying their Country or declining a Trial. *Rutilius*, with a Consciousness of his Integrity, came from *Asia* to *Rome* to receive his Trial. How does this Case help yours, who took a contrary Method, and quitted your Country because you could not stand a Trial ? This was justly reckoned a Proof of your Guilt then. It remains so, and sticks faster upon you than ever, because you can't by Arguments or Instances shake it off.

And as for *Metellus*, his Flight or voluntary Exile, if you please, was not previous to any Trial, and therefore could have no Resemblance to yours. It was imposed upon him by an unjust Law. He declined no Trial, for none was designed ; but by the Violence of the Times an arbitrary Punishment was laid upon him, merely out of Revenge, which he might have escaped, either by submitting, as all the other Senators did, or by opposing his Adversaries ; but that he was unwilling to embroil his Country :

Country : For which, let me give you the Testimony of one whom you might as well have made a Parallel; I mean *Cicero*: *Alia enim causa praestantissimi viri Qu. Metelli, fuit: quem ego cœverem, meo iudicio, cum Deorum immortalium laude conjungo: qui C. illi Mario, fortissimo viro, Et' consuli, Et' sextum consul, Et' ejus invictis legionibus, ne armis configeret, cedendum esse dixit.*

If any of these Characters bears any Resemblance to yours, it is neither that of *Metellus* nor *Rutilius*: How far that of *Apuleius* or *Apicius*, which you have applied to others, may fit yourself, let impartial Men judge: The former of these was once a Senator, but expelled, as I said before, for cheating the Publick; afterwards, restless to get into Power again, with the laudable Design common to such Wretches, to be revenged on the Authors of his just Disgrace; herein he succeeded; but not knowing where to stop, he endeavoured to introduce two unworthy Men, his particular Friends, into the highest Office at *Rome*; but herein so offended the People, who began now to be sensible of his mischievous Designs, that his Patron *Marius* was forced to abandon him, and he fell.

fell a Sacrifice to the Rage of those he had so miserably abused. It had been well for him had he thought and resolved upon a timely Retreat; and it may be well for some others, that they did not live in a State, where Laws were often too slender Ties upon the Passions of an injured People.

When you endeavour to raise the tender Passions, by seeming to own your Errors with an Air of Dejection, and so artfully put us in mind of the *Weakness of Humane Nature*, there is something in this sort of Confession that is apt enough to work upon Humane Nature. But it must be considered on the other hand, what Degrees of Favour are fit to be shewn you; whether an Inclination to excuse you, to raise you up and restore you to Power, would not be rash and weak, cruel and unjust. The Crimes you are charged with are of such a Nature, that the most benevolent Man in the World, because he is so, can but pity you; he can't receive you into publick Favour and Confidence, because you can't give Security that you will never abuse the Publick again. You ought not indeed to be insulted or trampled upon, but then you should be content with the Mercy you have al-

C ready

ready received ; and till you can clear yourself, more can't be shewn you with Justice, Safety, or Honour.

And herein I appeal to Men whose Names you reverence. *Cicero*, when the Senate was debating upon the Punishment of *Catiline's* Associates, told them, " *They* should be merciful and " always esteemed so, if they proceed- " ed against them with the Severity " they deserved ; but if they grew re- " mis and began to relent, their Coun- " try and Fellow-Citizens might justly " tax them with the utmost Cruelty.

And *Cato*, whose great Name, if I mistake not, was once assumed by you, or given you by a famous Parasite, declared himself to the same Effect : " Whoever, *says he*, talks of Mildness " and Gentleness in this Case, let him " consider, we are come to that pass, " that the true Use of Words is lost ; " to give what is not a Man's own, is " reckoned Liberality ; and to attempt " Things in their Nature vile and base, " called Courage. Can that be called " Mildness and Clemency that tends to " involve a whole State in Ruin ?

And really, Sir, I can't see how one, who stands charged with such Crimes as you do, can ever recover a sound Reputation,

putation, or give sufficient Signs of Remorse, or Proof of Amendment, till you have gone through a long Course of Retirement. But nothing can be more contrary to it, than that busy meddling Humour you have hitherto discovered, and the great Share of Action you have taken upon yourself.

If ever, till such Proof appears, you should be introduced again into a Share of Legislative and Ministerial Power, who will, who can give Security that you will not return to the same Measures you formerly pursued with so much Eagerness and Delight? I tremble to think who, and what Sort of Men they must be, who can have Interest enough in this Nation, and would venture to do it. They must be some who never felt, or who have forgot the Terrors which every true *Briton* felt at that critical Juncture when their Country lay in the utmost Agonies and Distress, when nothing but the immediate Hand of Heaven could save us, and did save us.

It is to be hoped such a Combination of Men cannot rise again in this Nation, or not with the same Power: But your incessant Endeavours to distress the Measures of his present Majesty; your unwearyed Struggles for Power, and the

united Endeavours of some who have declared for a Change of Measures, have plainly shewn the Strength of your Hopes, which are enough to quicken every Man's Zeal for the present Establishment and the present Administration; by which we enjoy the Rights and Liberties of *Britons* as fully as ever was, or ever can be expected.

Your Appeal to Mercy has some Show of Modesty, if not of Penitence; but you soon pull off the Mask when you go about to excuse and palliate the greatest Crimes: Nay to vindicate yourself, as one who had suffer'd Injuries and Persecution. Don't you think this betrays a Heart perfectly untouched'd and remorseless?

Can you complain or insinuate, for the Cause you plead for will not bear a great Deal of plain-speaking, Can you so much as insinuate that you have suffer'd Persecution? Who were your Persecutors? Was not your Flight as voluntary as could be in the Circumstances you were in? You knew the Danger of Staying and the Danger of Flying, and of which you could make the most Advantage; and your Choice was free, determin'd by your own Prudence; or will you say you was forced? What then forced

forced you, but Fear of Justice? What raised that Fear, but Guilt? Wherein then lay the Persecution? No Arbitrary Power, no unjust Law could force you. *Nithsdale* or *Forster* might with the very same Reason complain of Persecution.

Do you think it can avail you, tho' it be near twenty Years after, to tell the World, that wise Governments distinguish between Punishment and Persecution; it is true, and every wise Man will make the Distinction, but no one can apply it to your Case, which has not the least single Circumstance of Persecution in it. It is too bare-faced, it is monstrous to hear one that fled, and so escaped the Punishment due to him, complain of Persecution; it looks like insulting and triumphing over those, by whose Indulgence you have escaped so well as you have. One that had so great a Hand in introducing the vilest Persecution that ever was known among Protestants, and establishing it by a Law, may easily be thought capable of calling every Thing Persecution that thwarts in the least his Desires and Humours: It is naturally and common to all who are heartily engaged in that glorious Cause,

Your

Your Abuse of Mercy is perfectly consistent with your Complaints of Persecution: If to be denied the Favour you desire, is Persecution; no Wonder the Favour you have received passes for nothing. You could not otherwise have exerted yourself to disturb the Reign of his late Majesty, by whose Favour you were restored to your Country, to your Family, and Inheritance. Nothing less could be expected than a peaceable and quiet Behaviour; Prudence as well as Gratitude might have prompted to this, in all Reason.

But you are too much elevated to admit such Considerations; you would not accept the Favour you want, *at the intolerable Expence of being obliged to those whom you have used with all the Virulence and Contempt imaginable.* No, you are, and long have been courting others, with whom your violent Opposition and Abuse of those you hate, have secured your Interest; here you are applauded, here you are careſſ'd. The Association have openly espoused your Cause in the late famous *Craftsman.* If they should ever get into Power, they can't be so ungrateful as to disown or to desert you. What you have stipulated for yourself, I pretend not to know:

But

But a Change of Measures being the Thing they have openly declared for, that must be a very good Foundation for all your Hopes.

How far this Change of Measures is to proceed, I cannot conjecture ; but it has an untoward Aspect to think, that your Friends are to have the Management of it ; nay, that you are to have a Share in it ; You, who was once as great an Enemy to Liberty as any one in this Nation, have a very particular Share in bringing it about ; and if ever it is accomplish'd, you must not be overlook'd : You who have shown such Contempt of Liberty, by promoting the Schism-Bill at Home, and thereby depriving Men of one of the most natural and indisputable Rights of Humanity. But what Friend of Liberty can think with Patience upon your abandoning the brave *Catalans*, giving up a People in the most glorious Struggle for Liberty, giving them up to Punishment, Persecution, and Slavery ? Which could not be done neither, but by the most flagrant Act of Treachery ; and yet it was formerly said, you exulted and triumphed herein most extravagantly.

It is some Surprize, tho' it may be accounted for, to see the Gentlemen of the'

the Association so fond of you and your Labours ; talking with so much Confidence of a Change of Measures, and at the same Time publickly owning, *we enjoy all the Liberty we ought to enjoy*, Mr. P's Vindication, p. 14. Undoubtedly we do so. The Quiet, the Harmony, and good Correspondence among all Parties, together with the regular Administration of Law and Justice, are sufficient Proofs of this Assertion : But then how shall we find that you and the famous Association, that contend so fiercely against the present Ministry, are hearty Friends to this Cause of Liberty ? How can we believe that you are changed from being an Enemy to Liberty ? And how can we not believe that they are changed from being Friends to it ?

*We enjoy*, says that same Gentleman, *all the Liberty we ought to enjoy, and no more*. It is to be hoped, this Gentleman, if he retains his former Principles, would not be for enjoying more : For Liberty ought, as much as any thing, to be confined by Rules of Justice ; if it exceeds those Bounds, the Consequence is, that some will enjoy Licentiousness, and others suffer Injuries and Persecution. One essential Difference between Whig and Tory Principles, seems to me to

to lie here: The *Whigs* are for enjoying all the Liberty they *ought* to enjoy. The *Tories* are for enjoying *more*. The same Difference seems to be between those who are at present in Power, and those who are endeavouring to undermine them. The former I could illustrate from Instances of Persecution, &c. taken from the Time of your Administration; and the latter from your present Conduct, together with the Association.

For Instance, those who are now in Power, by a constant Course of faithful Services, preserve the Favour of their Prince, and the Applause of their Country; they make no Encroachments upon any Man's Rights, and attempt nothing contrary to Law: Under their Influence we enjoy all the Liberty we ought to enjoy, as is confess'd, and they enjoy no more themselves. But do those who labour to undermine them, confine themselves to the Rules of Justice and Decency? Or do they not at least plainly discover a Desire to exceed these Rules? Don't the avaricious among them desire to advance themselves, without that due Regard to the Publick, which is infinitely preferable to their private Interest? Don't the ambitious and re-

D vengeful,

vengeful, and are there none such among them, want the glorious Liberty of dispossessing those who stand in their Way, by any Means, right or wrong ? and being disappointed in their injurious Attempts, there is one Sort of Liberty which they actually do enjoy beyond the Limits of Reason and Justice ; the Liberty of inventing and dispersing Slanders against the Government. This in you is indeed no Indication of a Change, it is rather a Confirmation that you remain the same ; what it signifies in others, the World must judge.

In Answer to your Enquiry, by what Criterion good Subjects to his Majesty, and faithful Friends to the present Establishment may be distinguished and known ? I'll venture to tell you, By promoting the Service of him who is, and has been, and promises as fair as any Prince can do, to be ever the Guardian of all our Rights and Liberties. I can't expect this Answer should satisfie you or your great Ally, who have both shewn so much Contempt of the Prince I am speaking of ; with respect to him, I appeal to the 13th Page of his Vindication. The Conclusion to be drawn from thence is so natural and obvious, that every Man may draw it for himself ; it is too shocking to be put into

to Words, and a standing Monument of his Zeal that fair Compliments and good Wishes cannot deface.

Your Answer is not so barefaced, but comes pretty much to the same Point; for if you can discover but one Criterion, which you say is this, being for or against the noble Pair of Brothers, it may fairly enough be collected who you think the most passive, and most imposed upon of any in this Nation. It can't after this be imagined that you think serving the Prince on the Throne is serving the Nation; And your Conduct, and that of your Friends of the Association, abundantly testify the same thing; and plainly discover your meaning, that he can never be well served but by such as you.

Yet all the Objections, that have ever been raised by the united Force of our pretended Patriots, with your Assistance, has, I believe, hardly convinced one Man that they are either capable, or that they design to serve their Country better than it has been served for many Years past. We know the Prize contended for, and should this, as strange a Medley as ever were pack'd together, succeed in their first Step, who can tell what would be the Issue of the second? Who can tell what Harmony and Union of Sentiments

has been produced by so long and so close a Conjunction ? Wherein it is likely enough, because it is not unusual, that the most numerous, and who are in no Respects inferior, should draw as strongly at least as the Minority, especially with the Influence on their Side of one so greatly admired by the whole Association as your self.

But let every Man appeal from Persons to his own Judgment and Experience, whether he suffers any Encroachments or Invasions of his natural Rights, or hears any Complaints of others ? Whether any Steps have been taken to destroy our happy Constitution ? Whether those Grievances which have been the Subject of endless Clamour, have not been sufficiently justified by the Situation of Affairs ? And whether it is not infinitely better for the Trade, Safety and Welfare of this Nation, to be at a moderate Expence to prevent a War, than to rush into it ? An Expence which we can bear without much Difficulty, to save Millions, and to establish publick Credit and private Property upon a safe and lasting Foundation,

It is not my Design to debate these Things, they have been sufficiently handled elsewhere : But you know well enough there are other Ways, and I fear as

as dangerous as those you have mention'd, of destroying our happy Constitution. The notorious Abuse of Liberty, bold and groundless Accusations of those who have long served their Country with Integrity, desperate Attempts to sow Discord among a Nation's Friends, were some of the Acts by which the *Roman* Liberty was overthrown, and bear great Resemblance to the Methods taken by our modern Patriots to work themselves into Power.

It is some Balance to all their Industry, which I question not you heartily lament, that their Designs are seen through; that their Disguises are thin and easily taken off; that their Rage has been at the Height. Their Boasts of being compact, closely united, and of formidable Popularity, are but Symptoms of Decay. Popular are they? Upon what Foundation? Not a just nor lasting one: It will be always popular, because it is agreeable to human Nature, and sooths some ill Humours that always attend a State of perfect Liberty to hear their Governors reviled: But it is much more popular and upon better Grounds, to stand such Attacks, to be unmoved, and lose no Ground. It will be always popular to reveal private Transactions, and especially Things

Things of an inviolable Secrecy ; tho' every Man of Honour condemns the Treachery and Breach of Trust : But it is much more popular to produce the Truth, and to defeat the Designs of Desperate Malice and Revenge.

If with that masterly Hand of yours you could have made People believe, as in one Part of your Vindication you attempt to do, that you have suffer'd Persecution, you might have been as popular as any of them ; or if, leaving that alone, you could have persuaded them that you really feel Remorse, and are penitent, which you seem to aim at in another Part, tho' I think absurdly and inconsistently ; Yet, if you could have settled either of these Points, it is probable the good Nature, so remarkable in your Countrymen, would have yearned towards you. But your Pretences to Sorrow are wiped out by Insinuations of Persecution : One implies the Character of an innocent Man, the other the Confession of a Criminal. You should therefore, in my humble Opinion, have stuck to one or the other. But you destroy both when you endeavour to palliate your Offences, and to excuse yourself : This shows Guilt and Obduracy too.

But

But that you may come off with Decency, you tell the World, in a Variety of mournful Language, that your Ambition, whatever may be thought or said about it, has been long since dead. Why then should you take so large a Share upon yourself, of making way for the Ambition of others! This does not dignify your Disgrace at all, that you, who were once a great Minister of State, should be sunk to such low Thoughts as to become a Tool to the Ambition of others.

Now, Sir, to deal plainly with you, Since it is so great Odds, that you can't acquit yourself to the Publick; the best Way, in my Opinion, is not to attempt it. If there is any thing in Life you value besides, the best Way to secure it is by a timely Retreat. The Honour and Interest of your ungrateful Country can't be supposed to sway much with you either Way; but if you value the Popularity and Success of your Friends, the famous Association, and especially if you value your own Quiet and future Peace, nothing can more effectually secure either, than by abandoning all Thoughts of returning to Business and Employments wherein you have been so unhappy already. Nothing can make you

you so perfectly easy and contented, as  
to give up at once all Hopes and the  
least Desire of empty Titles, and every  
thing that may so much as open a Door,  
or present the least Opportunity or Quali-  
fication, of returning to such Work  
as you were formerly engaged in; which  
ought to cost you the remaining Part of  
your Life to lament and expiate.

**F I . N I S .**



